with Lozovsky, rallying support for the new international trade union council. Tanner and David Ramsay of the British Shop Stewards had refused during the congress to support this council. After the congress, however, they were finally won over. On their return home, they joined the Communist Party and won the Shop Stewards' movement to affiliate to the revolutionary union council.

The four USPD delegates boarded a train for Revel. They traveled in two separate compartments, each pair of delegates laying plans for a debate in the working-class movement in Germany. Two months later they were on opposite sides of the split in their party.

Units of the Red Army, which had succeeded during the first days of August in reaching the Vistula River, were forced later that month to begin a withdrawal from Poland. The revolutionary opportunity opened by the Polish war had passed.

The Comintern staff began editing the congress documents and translating them into the chief languages of Europe and the world. Members of Communist and Socialist parties and syndicalist unions around the world opened up a wide-ranging debate on the Twenty-one Conditions and the other resolutions of the Second Congress. As delegates arrived home, their reports spread confidence that the Communist International would now meet its challenges as a united and fighting world organization.

ON THIS EDITION OF THE CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

As the Comintern staff in Moscow began to prepare the record of the Second Congress for publication, they had to work from notes of congress stenographers that were incomplete and sometimes garbled. Most of the delegates who could have helped reconstruct the text had left the country. Where speeches had been given in English or French, often only a brief summary could be pieced together. The editors vented their frustration in the preface to the 1921 editions, which is printed at the end of this introduction.

The Comintern editors brought the existing stenographic

records in French, German, and Russian into rough correspondence. Since no stenographic record had been taken in English, a translation into English was made from the other versions, and this text was edited by English-speaking congress delegates.[111]

An abridged version of the proceedings, referred to in this work as the "Vienna edition," was published in Austria in 1920. Editions of the proceedings as a whole appeared during 1920 and 1921 in English, French, German, and Russian. The four versions differ considerably, and each contains some passages not found in any of the others.

In the early 1930s the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow began a new edition in Russian of the proceedings of Comintern congresses. The second volume of this edition, containing the record of the Second Congress, was published in 1934. This book filled some of the gaps in the earlier versions and added close to three hundred pages of appendixes. Several favorable references to Leon Trotsky found in earlier editions were eliminated from this version.[112]

After publication of the Second Congress proceedings, the series was discontinued. It was disadvantageous for the Stalin-led apparatus to spotlight the resolutions of the Comintern under Lenin's leadership at a time when it had in fact junked these communist policies. Moreover, Communists who had been delegates to those congresses (including some who fought to continue applying the revolutionary course adopted at them) were falling victim to persecution by Stalin's apparatus, as it moved toward the murderous purge trials and assassinations of the late 1930s.

An English translation of the German edition of 1921 was published in Britain in 1977. Four years later, the first comprehensive edition of the congress documents in almost five decades appeared in Yugoslavia. The Institute on the International Workers Movement published the full congress proceedings in Serbo-Croatian, including almost all the contents of the 1934 Russian version, and provided ample new annotation and biographical information.

The present work, printed in two volumes, integrates the six different versions of the proceedings published in 1920, 1921, and 1934. Except for speeches by Lenin, all translations are new and have been based on a comparison of the record in two or

more languages. Significant discrepancies between the earlier editions have been noted. Where possible, gaps in the record have been filled by including material from other sources.

One such additional source, the notes of congress secretaries, is available only in the form of brief excerpts found in the 1934 Russian edition of the proceedings, which is the source of quotations from the secretaries' notes in the pages that follow.

Publication of a record of the commissions established by the congress would make possible a better understanding of the struggle of contending political currents in the congress. Such minutes are available, however, in only one case: summaries of the July 25 and July 26 sessions of the Commission on Conditions for Admission to the Comintern. These documents have been published as appendix 3a. In addition, some notes of a key session of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions are found in appendix 2d.

A good deal of insight into the work of these commissions can be gained by comparing the initial drafts of resolutions submitted to them by the Executive Committee with the final texts forwarded to the congress for a vote. Significant differences between these versions have therefore been noted. In two cases, Lenin's "Preliminary Draft Theses on the Agrarian Question" and Roy's "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," the changes were quite substantial and warranted including these original versions in the appendixes.

Except as noted, the order of texts follows that in the German edition. Resolutions appended to the German edition, however, have been placed at the point in the proceedings where they were submitted for a final vote.

References to the Comintern's monthly magazine, *Communist International*, are made to the most accessible edition, that of Greenwood Reprints, which combines issues from both the German and English original editions.

The appendixes include almost all the material appended to the 1934 Russian edition.[113] Two articles from *Communist International* with important bearing on the congress, neither of which are found in the 1934 edition, are printed as appendixes 4a and 5a. Appendixes 2a through 2f contain six additional items on the colonial and national questions.

Two glossaries provide information on individuals and orga-

nizations mentioned in the text and also explain all sets of initials used to designate organizations. A glossary to volume one appears in its final pages; a glossary to the work as a whole is found in volume two.

The table of contents and a chronology have been included in both volumes. Endnotes appear at the end of each volume, while an index to the work as a whole is found at the end of volume two. The book list, included in volume two, gives bibliographical information on titles mentioned in the proceedings, introduction, and endnotes. Title references in endnotes are given only in abbreviated form.

Photographs of the congress and related events are found in both volumes; sources are indicated by photo credits. The drawings in volume two are taken from *Deyateli Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala* (Leaders of the Communist International), a commemorative album on the Second Congress published in Moscow in 1920. The pen-and-ink portraits, autographed by the subjects are, with one exception, by the Soviet artist Isaac Brodsky (1884-1939).

A note on the translation

The present edition has sought to merge into the most authoritative possible text the six different versions of the proceedings published in 1920, 1921, and 1934. Speeches have been translated from the version that proved on examination to be the most authoritative; that was usually the version in the language used by the speaker. These translations were then edited after a close comparison with one or more of the other versions. Remarks by delegates from France, Italy, and Spain have been translated from the French-language version and compared with the German; those by delegates from English-speaking countries and by M.N. Roy have been taken from English and compared with German; those by other delegates have been taken from German and compared with the 1921 and 1934 Russian versions. Where delegates appear to have spoken in Russian, the translation has been made from Russian and compared with the German-language version, and this procedure has been noted in the text.

For the speeches by Lenin, the translations found in the most

recent English edition of his *Collected Works* are authoritative and have been used in this work. The translations have been checked against the text in the fifth Russian-language edition of Lenin's works and a small number of corrections have been made. Spelling and punctuation have been brought into line with U.S. usage. Quotations of Lenin and others in the introduction and endnotes, however, have not been altered.

Where geographical names are no longer in use, the current name follows in brackets. Within the proceedings, interpolations by the editor of this edition have been placed within brackets. The titles given to sessions are adapted from those in the 1934 Russian edition of the congress proceedings. All emphasis in translations and quotations is taken from the original text.

German was the basic working language of the Comintern in the early 1920s, and it was the German-language version of the theses and resolutions that was most widely used by Communist parties of that time. Accordingly, they have been translated from the German-language version and edited after comparison with the Russian. For comparisons of the final and draft texts of resolutions, the text of the drafts found in the 1934 Russian edition has been used.[114] Unless otherwise noted, the appendixes have been taken from the 1934 Russian edition.

Any deviations from these procedures have been noted in the text.

'The Communist International in Lenin's Time'

The proceedings of the Second Congress form the fourth volume to be published in the Pathfinder series The Communist International in Lenin's Time.

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, the first volume in the series, presents documents from the preparatory years 1907-16. *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power* records the testing of conflicting courses and leaderships in the workers' movement during the 1918-19 revolution in Germany and examines that revolution's role in speeding formation of the new International. The third volume, *Founding the Communist International*, contains the record of the Comintern's first congress, held in March 1919.